

SECTION 2

FAMILY AND NATION



CHAPTER 3

The Morenos between Family and Nation

*Notes on the History of a Bourgeois
Mediterranean Jewish Family (1850–1912)*

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**Introduction: The Interplay of Some Questions
of Identity and Belonging**

In this chapter, I would like to take as a point of departure the history of the Moreno family from Livorno (Leghorn), who settled in Tunis in 1830, to discuss some broader questions regarding the religious and national affiliation of an Italian *and* Jewish family between the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. The patriarch of the family—Moisè Moreno—left Livorno for Tunis in 1830 to open a pharmacy; as we shall see, by the end of the century, the Morenos had grown in number, thrived economically, expanded within society through commercial and marriage networks, and risen to political prominence, becoming one of the main Italian-Jewish families in all of Tunisia.

This linear path disguises a more complex picture, which raises manifold questions about the positioning of a Jewish family in a changing social and political context vis-à-vis their own identity as Jews, as Italians, as *grana* (Jews from Livorno), as part of Tunisia's commercial elite, and, after 1881—when Tunisia became a French protectorate—as foreigners in a colonial context that they (together with many others) had strongly believed would become Italian instead. And although it may seem that Tunisia's complex domestic and international situation would make this family a good case study for the dynamics of situational ethnicity, as we shall see, its history could also be seen as a case of situational nationalism.¹ Situational ethnicity is defined here as a case where an ethnic identity is displayed or concealed depending on its usefulness in a given situation, allowing for people to participate in their ethnic heritage while still maintaining membership of the broader, mainstream culture.

Within this framework, I will discuss how issues of religious and national identity were at play in the internal and external dynamics of this family (and by extension, in that of the group of Jews who were part of the same social and national milieu) at a time when Italy's colonial aspirations were rebuffed with the Treaties of Bardo (1881) and La Marsa (1883) (which made Tunisia a French protectorate), or when they were later bolstered with the Italian colonial conquest of Libya in 1911. Though the tension between religious and national affiliation runs through the following pages, other equally important tensions emerge from the many relations that this family entertained: for example, that between this group of Italian Jews and the local Jews, which falls into the well-known set of relations between the *grana* (the Jews originally from Livorno/Leghorn [*gurni*, pl. *grana*]) and the *twansa* (the Jews from Tunis [*tunis*, pl. *twansa*]); or that between this group of Italian Jews and the non-Jewish Italians who migrated to Tunisia in vast numbers at the end of the nineteenth century, whether permanently or as seasonal workers, especially from nearby Sicily. Finally, in the changed institutional colonial context post-1881, a new tension emerged between the Italian economic elite and the French authorities. These tensions played out in different ways in various historical moments of the Morenos' century-long residence in Tunisia, and I will therefore deal with some of them in greater detail than others.

The Background: Some Numerical and Geographical Data

As mentioned above, the history of the Morenos began in Livorno in 1830 and can be considered part and parcel of the broader picture of Jewish and Italian migration in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century. This was a voluntary migration motivated by economic considerations; it was not limited to male individuals; it often included women and children; it originated in the commercial/diplomatic treaties between Tuscany and the Ottoman Empire that pre-dated the regime of the Capitulations; and it placed Tuscan subjects in Tunisia under the jurisdiction of the Grand Duke's law.² This situation resulted in a constant, steady growth in the Jewish presence in Mediterranean ports during the second half of the nineteenth century, contributing to the development and further enrichment of what has been termed a "Mediterranean Jewish Diaspora."³ After Italian unification was complete, Italy and the Bey signed the Regime of Capitulations in 1868 (for a twenty-eight-year term), which bestowed on Italians the same privileges accorded to foreigners in other areas of the Ottoman Empire: Italians in Tunisia maintained their nationality and were subject to consular jurisdiction in matters of private and commercial

law; in practice, this translated to their commercial enterprises having the status of extraterritoriality.

The studies by Daniela Pennacchio⁴ on Jewish migrations from Livorno to twelve Mediterranean ports confirm the centrality of Livorno as the single port from which more than five thousand Jews migrated elsewhere in the Mediterranean between 1825 and 1865: Alexandria, Algiers, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Marseilles, following the alphabet all the way to Tunis.⁵ Alexandria, in Egypt,⁶ was the port that received the highest number of Jewish migrants (1,370 individuals), immediately followed by Tunis (1,313) and then by Marseilles (1,044). Interestingly enough, Jerusalem scored second last in this period, with only eight Jews traveling from Livorno to Palestine, a number that challenges the normative homeland-diaspora model of Jewish relations. Here, “home” was quite simply Italy, with Livorno as its capital, while the diaspora was defined in reference to that original home. In this context, Tunis—imagined as a would-be Italian colony—became the point of departure for many economic and political activities that further strengthened the relationship between Italy and Tunisia through a continuous exchange.

If we look at the original group of Jews who transited from Livorno and migrated to Tunis, we see that 62 percent of the Jewish migrant population was engaged in trade. Trade was followed as an employment category by two others that reveal the changing needs of the European trading families in Tunis throughout the nineteenth century and their upward social mobility. As Pennacchio shows, the second category of employment for Jews in Tunis was that of *domestici* (servants, cooks), catering to the needs of the rising European middle classes of Tunis—which included many Jews. The third-largest professional grouping among Jews who emigrated from Livorno to Tunis is classified in the registers as *scritturali*, i.e. a large body of scribes, clerks, notaries, and accountants, which provided for the legal, accounting, and secretarial jobs of this emerging mercantile middle class. They were much needed indeed if, between 1861 and 1881, Italy, France, and the United Kingdom handled 92 percent of the commercial volume of the whole country.⁷ As is well known, another field in which the Jewish presence dominated in Tunis was the medical sciences. Here, Italian Jews were in the good company of many French Jews.⁸

This Mediterranean Jewish diaspora was not only composed of a rising merchant elite but also of Jews engaged in more modest professions; the story of Salomone Hasdà represents a good example. In 1852, Hasdà—one of four brothers—a poor tailor from Livorno working in Tunis who had already twice been assisted economically by the Jewish community of Livorno, was requesting further help to relocate to another “scalo of Berberia [port of the Berber lands] to find better luck in his tailor’s craft.” One of his brothers was working as a petty trader in Algiers until 1829;

another was working for the government in Alexandria until 1837, while the third brother was still living in Livorno.⁹

Obviously, Italian migration to Tunis was not only a Jewish phenomenon, nor did it necessarily originate from Livorno. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Italian community was the largest among the European communities in Tunisia and, in the mid-nineteenth century, one-third of the Europeans in Tunis were Italians—about 8,000 people. According to data published by William Shorrock, “in 1881, of 20,000 Europeans (out of a total population of some 1 1/2 million), 11,000 were Italian; only some 700 were French.”¹⁰ Almost 90,000 Italians were counted in the census of 1926.¹¹

Many details attest to this centrality: some quarters of Tunis became known as Piccola (Little) Sicilia, Piccola Calabria, Piccola Venezia, Piccola Sardegna; Italian was the commercial language, and diplomatic papers were written in Italian (including for the Austrian and French consulates); passports were in Italian and so were medical certificates. Italian was spoken at the court of the Bey, and many Italians worked at the court in various capacities.¹² From the 1840s on, during the Risorgimento, many Italian political exiles found refuge in Tunisia. Some of them were Jews, like the well-known patriot and physician Giacomo Castelnuovo.¹³ Others were not Jews, nor did they belong to the upper and middle classes, as the studies of Daniela Melfa and others have shown.¹⁴ With the help of Leone Carpi, a Jewish political economist and a well-known supporter of the Risorgimento—who was in turn quoting a report from the Italian consul in Tunis in 1874—we can sum up the situation as follows: “The Italian community in Tunis is composed of three main groups: the Tabarkini (those who migrated from Genoa to Tabarka to pick coral), the Israelites from Livorno (who came to trade among Arabs and Christians), and more recently, the Sicilians.”¹⁵

The Moreno family enters this picture and this world of circulation and exchange in 1830, when the pharmacist Moisè Moreno from Livorno was invited by one of the physicians working at the court of the Bey;¹⁶ he moved to Tunis with his wife Grazia Sonsino and his two children, Sara and Aaron Daniele, and he opened the first pharmacy in town.¹⁷

The Morenos in Tunis, the *Grana* and the *Twansa*

The Moreno family’s stay in Tunisia spans over a century, from their establishment in Tunis in 1830 through the momentous decades until their departure between 1948 and 1956 after the anti-Jewish riots of 1947, and after Tunisia achieved independence from France. In the nineteenth century, Italy’s loss of Tunisia to France probably represented the most

significant event that left an indelible mark on the family in terms of identity. As we shall see in the next paragraph, it strengthened an already quite marked sense of Italian national identity (if not nationalism) that they carried right on into the following century, whose first decades inevitably further strengthened the national feelings of the various members of this family in various ways. The Italian colonial conquest of Libya in 1911 and World War I represent the first two crucial moments of this transformation. Shortly after, Fascism seduced many members of the Italian Tunisian colony (Jews and non-Jews alike); for many of these, that fascination was over by the mid-1930s. In 1935, with the Franco-Italian Agreement, Italy renounced any claim to Tunisia in exchange for an area on the border between Libya (Italian) and Chad (French), a move that many Italians viewed as the ultimate betrayal of their country.¹⁸ Shortly after, another betrayal would affect the Morenos not as Italians but as Jews, when the Racial Laws of 1938 led to the confiscation of some of their property in Italy. The war would bring not only other confiscations of property for military use (in Tunisia)¹⁹ but also the deportation and extermination of one family member at Auschwitz.

The trajectory of the Morenos throughout the 120 years of their residence in Tunisia and throughout the Mediterranean is too long and complicated to be fully analyzed in the space of this chapter; I will therefore sketch a picture of this family at the peak of its influence, i.e. between the end of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the new one. In my conclusions, I will point to some other directions for more detailed and deeper research on the Moreno family.

The son and grandsons of Moisè Moreno—Aaron Daniele, Raffaello, and Leone—did not follow in their father's and grandfather's footsteps; they joined the trading bank of Isacco Coriat, and in 1876 they established a joint trading society (A. D. Moreno Figli & C.ie). That company was passed down to the Moreno descendants under various names and lasted one century altogether.²⁰ Along the way, new members of the family became associated, and the company expanded and diversified the type of commercial activities in which they engaged, the real estate they owned, and the geography of their presence in Tunisia. These ranged from the timber trade (Raffaello, son of Aaron Daniele)—which was the Morenos' initial field of operations—to moneylending (including to the Bey) (Daniel Cardoso, brother in law of Raffaello), from agricultural development and the construction of a mill in Zeghouan (Leone, brother of Raffaello) to management of the concession for extracting the precious yellow marble of Chemtou. Toward the end of the century, Raffaello was the head of the family, and his two sons—Ugo and Giacomo—had become lawyers. The Morenos were connected to a tight professional and family network that linked several middle- and upper-class commercial Jewish families—the

Coriats, Lumbrosos, Molcos, Morpurgos, Boccaras, Cardosos, etc. Most of them were *grana*; some of them, like Dr. Funaro, led the Italian freemasons in Tunis; a few were upper-class educated *twansa*, like the Cattans. The Moreno women tended to marry other *grana* or educated *twansa* and were usually involved in philanthropy, mainly for Italian institutions (Italian Red Cross, etc.) and some Jewish associations (education, etc.).

Many studies have analyzed the multilayered relationship between *grana* and *twansa* both per se and through the prism of the colonial presence, through the relations one or the other group entertained with the local non-Jewish population or with the Jews of other countries in the (French) Maghreb.²¹ Two studies are worth mentioning in more detail in this context: the work of Keith Walters—who summarizes the differences and connections between the two groups in a concise and clear table within the framework of a broader study on the spread of French in Tunisia through the education of Jewish girls between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth,²² and the analysis of Yaron Tsur. Describing the relations between the two communities in the provincial Tunisian town of Mahdia, Tsur captures the essence of the distinction between the two groups, as well as their connections. In his words:

The Grana were distinguished not only by their Italian-Jewish ethnicity but also by their social status. . . . They were concentrated in the higher strata of society. . . . The Grana elite, which from the 17th century onwards specialized in trade, leasing and finance, succeeded in keeping contact with Livorno, and sometimes even in securing for themselves the legal status of European merchants (and hence subject to consular justice). . . . Furthermore, the Grana became the elite of the Italian colony in Tunisia and several of its members filled political positions in the service of the Italian kingdom. It appears that more than any other factor, what determined the connection with one group or the other was economic status. The crucial distinction had to do with access to Western economy. Being a “native” meant participation in economic activities of the local market only, while the quasi-European had access to both local and world market. The Grana were active in business by mainly with Europe.²³

In 1905, the French archaeologist Eusèbe Vessel gave a contemporary description of this very situation, in which he emphasized both the sense of community and the presence of the *grana* elite in the public sphere:

If it is true that the Israelites in Tunisia form a State within a State, then one should add that i livornesi [those from Livorno] have established a State within the Jewish State [Jewish community].²⁴

Such presence and influence in the public sphere came to the fore in 1881, when Italy lost Tunisia to France, thus precipitating both the *grana*

elite and the other upper-class Italians into a defensive corner. Despite themselves, their identity, and all their work for Tunisia as a *colonia italiana*—the same name by which they defined themselves—overnight they became the economic ruling class of another nation.

La colonia italiana and the New Colonial Context

In 1831, a political refugee from Livorno, Pompeo Sulema, and his sister Ester, opened the first Italian school in Tunis. At the end of the nineteenth century, there were twenty-one Italian state schools in Tunisia; thirteen were in Tunis, three in La Goulette, three in Sousse, and two in Sfax. Five of them were nursery schools, eleven were primary schools, and five were secondary schools.²⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century, a whole other colonial network of Italian factories, economic ventures, trading companies (such as the Morenos'), banks (Credito Italiano), hospitals (Ospedale Italiano), railways (Rubattino), theater companies, etc., was ready to turn Tunisia into an Italian colony; moreover, as mentioned above, the Italian population vastly outnumbered the French.²⁶ However, after 1881, the French colonial administration provided the new institutional framework in which the *granas* (and everyone else) had to operate.

Following the establishment of the French Protectorate, the Italian press of Tunis launched an intense campaign to defend Italian economic interests. The publication that led the campaign was *L'Unione*, an expression of the liberal middle classes and in particular of the *grana* elite. *L'Unione* was the publication of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of Tunis, and Raffaello Moreno was its president.²⁷ Many issues, articles, and clippings from this (first weekly and then daily) newspaper have been preserved among the Moreno family papers. Three types of articles in particular are circled and underlined: those that speak about protection of the commercial interests of the Italians in Tunisia against French protectionist policies; those that remark on the role of one or the other Moreno in representing their interests with the Italian authorities at Rome; and some official speeches concerning the situation of the Italian community (*la colonia italiana*) in Tunisia after 1881. Raffaello Moreno was described in *L'Unione* in 1900 as someone “guided in his every action by peace of mind and a firm conscience, with high aims”:

The Colony does not ignore the diligence, the lack of self-interest with which he defends its prosperity and rights. He is always the first to act in ways aimed at maintaining our name intact and respecting it. Many of the existing Italian institutions . . . owe him their existence . . . and without boasting of it, he perseveres in his mission, i.e. to be a most faithful and intelligent servant of our Consular authorities.²⁸

Raffaello Moreno preserved not only the articles from Tunis that spoke (usually very highly) of himself but also those from Italy that described the situation of the Italians in Tunis. Indeed, *L'Unione* is not the only paper preserved in the Moreno archive. As a testimony to continuous contact and exchange with Italy, one also finds *La Gazzetta Livornese*, *Il Fanfulla* (published in Florence and then in Rome), and *Il Mezzogiorno* (from Southern Italy), publications that were delivered to his address in Tunis. In 1895, for example, *Il Mezzogiorno* presented Cavaliere Moreno as the “representative of the Italian Colony of Tunis.” And it was during one of his visits to the Italian foreign ministry in Rome that the ministry had applauded the patriotism of the Italian colony of Tunis, surely with a view to Raffaello’s own activities.²⁹ A few years later, in 1901, he clipped an article from the *Gazzetta Livornese* concerning the sale of the Tunis-Goletta railway, which had originally belonged to the Italian Rubattino Society; the article expressed the great sadness with which the Italian population of forty thousand received the news:

The Italians of Tunis were once more made aware of the apathy and negligence of the Italian government in defending our interests abroad, so much so that, through their continuous neglect, they will make our life unbearable indeed in all those countries where Italian emigration is more abundant. After selling the Post, after the shameful political surveillance imposed on our subjects (including those holding important posts in the regency and who are quite rightly esteemed by everyone), in manifestly clear violation of the latest treaties, after the subsequent loss of all our rights here, this final palm of Italian land has now also been handed over to France. . . . We are told that in a country where our influence has become nothing, it is useless to maintain a railroad that costs the state 150 thousand lire per year and they believe that they can shut our mouths with this lie and with this silly argument!³⁰

The Morenos were always at the forefront of patriotic celebrations like the *Festa dello Statuto* to commemorate the Statuto Albertino (1848) or the anniversary of 20 September (1871)—the capture of Rome that marked the political unification of the kingdom. The speeches of Raffaello Moreno, for example, for the usually very well-attended *Festa dello Statuto*, were reported as an example of balance and vision. As the studies of Ilaria Porciani have demonstrated in a different context, the latter (more than the former) was the Italian celebration par excellence.³¹ Considering both Livorno and Tunis, the *Festa dello Statuto* was celebrated in the squares, at the consulate, in sports and music circles, and, interestingly enough, also in the synagogues.³² This is clearly very significant in terms of identity; on the days of Italian national celebration, the *grana* micro-identity allowed for the Italian macro-identity to fully emerge both at “home” and “in the new home.” The capture of Rome was described by *L'Unione* in enthusiastic terms:

Today marks a memorable date for the Italians, solemnized in Italian with great affection and harmony. For the entry of the Italian troops into Rome marked the end of a theocratic rule that had weighed on past generations like a nightmare, clipping . . . the positive impulse of human thought.³³

Describing 20 September as it was celebrated in Tunis in more detail, *L'Unione* gave a complete picture not only of how the celebrations were organized but also of who attended them, summarizing how the Italian society of Tunis was structured as well as the very compatible and mixed roles of Jews and non-Jews within its ranks. Given the completeness of this portrait, it is interesting to read it directly from *L'Unione* (almost) in full:

Again this year the highest sentiment of patriotism inspired the Italians of Tunis on the occasion of the recurrence of the wonderful event of the centuries, i.e. Rome's return to civil power as the capital of a free and united Italy. The Colonia Italiana also responded today with its usual alacrity to the appeal by the Representative of the Patriotic Government, and this morning the House of Italy was celebrating, its descendants in Tunis crowded together from the rich to the poor in an affectionate communality. As is customary, the first to be received are the teachers in our schools, on behalf of whom the notable Cav. Liscia, the high school principal, speaks in the most elevated tones. Today's solemnity, which is an unshakeable consecration of completed actions and a guarantee of immutable rights, finds faith and sincerity in the national institutions, and the Italian Homeland can certainly count on them. With no less fervor, the Consul General adds his voice to these sentiments, defining the elementary schools as the guardians of successful [national] unity and of free thinking. Immediately after comes the Italian freemasonry, led by the distinguished Dr. Funaro. For his part, he clarifies the aims of the association and declares that the freemasons . . . will faithfully cooperate with the authorities, ready to make sacrifices for the triumph of honorable and upright causes. . . . Later on, the notable Cav. Mr. Vignale speaks for the Workers' Society, and then his beloved president, the notable Cav. R. Moreno, President of the Chamber of Commerce, also speaks. . . . For the hospital, its director, Dr. Morpurgo speaks, succeeded by Dr. Cardoso for the Military Society of Discharged Soldiers, of which he is president. . . . The Dante Alighieri society is represented by the Notable Cav. Ravvisano. . . . Our most esteemed Consul General Comm. Botteghini . . . made our hearts vibrate with the notes of a very lively love of Italy, to which our hearts always tend, and regard for which this distinguished officer embodies so nobly, keeping it revered and beloved and respected by us, her children and by foreign colonies and their natives alongside us, among whom our labor of civilization and work is peaceful and profitable.³⁴

As other articles from *L'Unione*—and much personal correspondence—show, the connection between Italy and the Colonia Italiana was one that fits the home-diaspora paradigm well. Without entering into a debate on the possible definitions and variations of this paradigm, the classic brief description by Gabriel Sheffer is perhaps the one that best suits this case.

Sheffer defines an “ethno-national diaspora” as a “social-political formation” that resulted from “either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or several host countries.” In his definition, diasporas “maintain a common identity, identify as such, showing solidarity with their group and their entire nation, and they organize and are active in the cultural, social, economic, and political spheres. Among their various activities, members of such diasporas establish trans-state networks that reflect complex relationships among the diasporas, their host countries, their homelands, and international actors.”³⁵

Once again *L'Unione* fits such a perspective:

We always consider an occasion auspicious that allows us to gather around the Representative of Italy, to hear his authoritative voice speak of our beloved homeland and of memories of the past, of new hopes, to feel ourselves bonded and strengthened in our aspirations, in our confidence in the best and most glorious destinies for our Italy. And to realize this dream of glory, which is at the same time a desire for human progress, because the progress and civilization of the world are reasons for Italy's greatness. And Italians abroad are proud they can make their modern and by no means negligible contributions. In the peaceful struggle any nation might fight today to increase its influence beyond its borders, the first factors that lead to success are the colonies. . . . With industriousness, with seriousness in undertaking the task they have been assigned, they contribute to maintaining the high prestige and name of the distant homeland.³⁶

If we look at these quotes through the lens of the home-diaspora relations, it is very evident to which homeland the *grana* in Tunis felt they belonged, even though some philanthropic concessions to Zionism eventually appeared in the twentieth century. As the documentation in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem shows, Leone Moreno in 1923 accommodated the request of the Jewish National Fund (JNF) for help acquiring land for the new colony (*moshav*) of Nahalal “to add to the inalienable land patrimony of Eretz Israel” with a contribution of 10,000 French francs.³⁷ Interestingly enough, this donation was contemporaneous with a much larger contribution to the Italian colonial enterprise in Libya. The extent of the support to the national colonial project can also be gathered from the correspondence exchanged by various members of this family, if not from the text of their letters, for example, from the choice of postcards that they sent one another. One of them depicts the image of Italy as a proud woman standing tall on a pedestal, extending her benevolent hand to another woman of darker complexion representing Libya; the former is crowned with a tower and laurel; the other wears a turban and crescent; two men (King Vittorio Emanuele III and Sultan Mohammed V, wearing a fez, the symbol of the new Turkish modernity) look down on the two women, almost shaking hands, while the caption

of the postcard reads: "Peace between Italy and Turkey for civilization and for the progress of Libya."³⁸ If we read these words through the prism of colonialism, we find most of the buzzwords that evoke a colonialist worldview: the "glorious destinies," "the human progress," "the civilization of the world," "the peaceful struggle to increase influence beyond borders," "the prestige of the distant land."

As in other colonial contexts, schools and hospitals represented a means for the elite to educate and cure themselves and their children with Western standards. At the same time, it is well known to what extent health and education represented major tools for importing and imposing cultural normative notions of what was healthy/unhealthy and educated/uneducated, along with a normative Western modernity.³⁹ In the context of the post-1881 anti-French polemic, Italian schools and hospitals were absorbed in the same rhetoric. The speech by Senator Di San Giuliano delivered at the Chamber of Deputies on 29 June 1896, which Raffaello saved in his personal papers, reflects this kind of thought. Here, emphasis was placed more on the schools than on the hospitals, in keeping with an Italian sentiment:

France aims . . . to hit our associations and schools. And this is what we must prevent. For our associations and schools are the institutions that keep the Italian spirit alive in Tunisia. The patriotic spirit of the majority of our colony would be weakened without them, and those who have retained Italian citizenship would be less numerous today.⁴⁰

The single largest donor and supporter of the Italian school of Tunis was Raffaello Moreno. All the Moreno boys studied there and later became involved not only in the selection of teachers but also in drafting the school syllabi. Raffaello's brother Leone, as well as their sons Ugo and Giacomo, were members of the Dante Alighieri society. Leone, who appears to have been more nationalist than his brother, only employed seasonal Italian workers⁴¹ in the mill that the family established in Zaghouan. If we look at other Italian societies, we find more than a few Jews directing them; as we saw in the 20 September *L'Unione* article quoted above, the president of the Italian hospital was Dr. Morpurgo, and the president of the "Società Militari in congedo" (Society of Discharged Soldiers) was Dr. Cardoso.⁴² These very same national themes also recur in the private correspondence between members of the family. It is not by chance that many of them were decorated with various Italian and Tunisian titles: Giuseppe Di Vittorio (a Sicilian entrepreneur), Luigi Rey (born in Tunis to an immigrant from a village north of Turin, Piedmont, Italy, who ran a construction company), and the Jewish medical doctor Giacomo Castelnovo were awarded both the title of *Cavaliere dell'Ordine della Corona d'Italia* by the Italian king and the title of *Nichan Iftikhar* by the Bey of Tunis, as were Raffaello and Leone Moreno.⁴³

Conclusion

The angle through which I have sketched a partial profile of the Morenos in Tunis is the public and political sphere in which they moved at the end of the nineteenth century, a time of great political and economic change for Tunisia and its inhabitants, the locals as well as the foreigners who resided there for various (mainly economic) reasons. This public aspect is the one that emerges more immediately from the family papers deposited in the State Archive of Livorno. An intimate and more private portrait of the family seems more difficult to sketch, for the late nineteenth century at least. Considering this period, it is quite evident that the dynamics of situational ethnicity and situational nationalism played an important role in orienting their individual and family identity, a factor that was further enhanced by their not being at “home” but in “diaspora.” It could easily be argued that it was exactly this (dis)placement that made them more nationalist, monarchic, and attached to Italy, that made them oftentimes stress their attachment to the royal family and to an image of Livorno that corresponded to its idealized and frozen memory.

Further research could offer a different—and certainly more complete—picture of the history of this family, for example by taking a different temporal framework, another geographical focus, or other methodological perspectives. I will only mention here a few examples of the possibilities that other frameworks could lead to. After 1936, the family was no longer based in Tunisia alone, triangulating instead, as the family correspondence shows us, for travel, real estate, trade, and family relations between Italy, France, and Tunisia. Moving away from the binary home-diaspora framework to a larger Mediterranean framework would allow for broader focus on the private and public family dynamics and thus reveal a much larger network of relations that this family was able to develop, well beyond Livorno and Tunis.

Changing the time frame of this study could also lead to new conclusions, revealing how ethnicity played out differently in other situations. Just looking at the period of World War II—when several members of the Moreno family found a safe haven in South America, in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina—could show how their identity as Italians and Jews came to be confronted with other kinds of diasporas, such as the Italian diaspora that had migrated to South America since the nineteenth century and the more recent Jewish diaspora that was fleeing Nazi-Fascist Europe.⁴⁴

Adopting a different methodological perspective would also help build a more complex and nuanced picture: for example, if we consider the role of women, both in the family, in the relationship between *grana* and *twansa*, and in the broader society in Tunis at the end of the nineteenth

century, or later on in other moments. Connected to this last point is the perspective on interethnic or national philanthropy. As the studies of Luisa Levi D'Ancona, Mirella Scardozzi, and others have shown, philanthropic donations in the nineteenth century from upper-class Jewish families on the one hand became a form of Jewish affiliation; on the other, they helped in the development of what we would call welfare associations today—organizations and foundations that were open to all and not limited to a needy Jewish public.⁴⁵ Equally interesting would be an investigation into the ways in which the *granas* as an upper-class economic elite helped shape some of the architecture and spaces of the Tunisian cities in which they operated, considering not only the real estate properties but also their commercial activities and the sites where they exercised their philanthropy.⁴⁶ This section would also include an investigation of the long and complicated history that led to the construction of the synagogue of Tunis, from the acquisition of the land to the realization of a building that recalled the same Moorish style that was being used for synagogue construction in Europe and in the French Maghreb during the same period.⁴⁷ Finally, a comparative perspective could also be useful for a better understanding of the relations between *grana* and *twansa*, especially if we consider that similar class imbalances between local and newly arrived Jews in colonial contexts were quite common, for example in French Algeria, British India, or, later, in Italian Libya.

The context in which the Moreno story developed is generally well known, and much research into French, Arabic, and Italian private and public sources has painted a picture in which all the characters of this history are well represented—*grana* and *twansa* Jewish families, the local population, French authorities, Italian immigrants, traders, bankers, and religious authorities—as well as their whereabouts and the points where they crossed paths. The Moreno story represents another important piece in this multifaceted picture. One that could not find a place in this chapter but is well known and, I think, worth underlining yet again is the low-level religious tension between groups, despite the national enthusiasms that the unfulfilled colonial context (with the expected Italian colonizers being replaced by the French) nurtured. I refer in particular to the coexistence of different religious groups—Catholics, Muslims, and Jews—which was reflected in the pages of *L'Unione* in various ways. One such example is a small section on its very last page providing the date according to the Hijiri and Hebrew calendars, the saints of the day, and notable events that happened on the same day in a different year. Despite this being only an insignificant box on the last page of a newspaper, it is revealing of a tradition and practice of tolerance that remains one of Tunisia's traits of historical continuity.

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Notes

1. For a standard reference on situational ethnicity, see Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Situational Ethnicity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1981): 452–65; for a partially comparable study, see Till Van Rahden, "Intermarriages, the "New Woman" and the Situational Ethnicity of Breslau Jews from the 1870s to the 1920," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 46 (2001): 125–50.
2. Tunisia had become part of the Ottoman Empire in 1574; the Commercial Treaty with Tuscany was signed in 1710, and Tuscany opened a consulate in Tunis in 1815.
3. Liana E. Funaro, "A Mediterranean Diaspora: Jews from Leghorn in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *L'Europe Méditerranéenne/Mediterranean Europe*, ed. Marta Petricoli (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008), 95–110.
4. Daniela Pennacchio, "Ebrei fra Livorno e altri porti del Mediterraneo secondo i registri delle emigrazioni dell'Archivio Storico della Comunità Israelitica," in *Studi Mediterranei ed extraeuropei*, ed. Vittorio A. Salvadorini (Pisa: Epistudio, 2002): 221–45.
5. This number should be considered a minimum estimate, as the alphabetical lists from A to H for the decade 1843–53 are missing in the Archives of the Jewish Community of Livorno; in *ibid.*, 222.
6. On Jews in Egypt, see Dario Miccoli, *Histories of the Jews of Egypt: An Imagined Bourgeoisie, 1880s–1950s* (London: Routledge, 2015).
7. See Michele Luzzati, ed., *Ebrei di Livorno tra i due censimenti (1841–1938): Memoria familiare e identità* (Livorno: Belforte, 1990).
8. Lucien Moatti, *La mosaïque médicale de Tunisie 1800–1950* (Paris: Éditions Glyphe, 2008).
9. Quoted in Maurizio Vernassa, *All'ombra del Bardo: Presenze toscane nella Tunisia di Ahmed Bej (1837–1855)* (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2005), 175.
10. William I. Shorrock, "The Tunisian Factor in Franco-Italian Relations 1881–1940," *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 8 (1985): 167–77, 170.
11. Paul Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville* (Paris: Harmattan, 1998).
12. See also Alessandro Triulzi, "Italian Speaking Communities in Early Nineteenth Century Tunis," *Revue de L'Occident e de la Méditerranée* 9 (1971): 153–84.
13. Treccani, "Castelnuovo Giacomo," retrieved 4 October 2017 from <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo-castelnuovo> (Dizionario-Biografico). Castelnuovo, born in Livorno in 1819, had fled from Italy in 1841, initially to Egypt,

where he founded two Italian newspapers—*Lo Spettatore Egiziano* and *Il Progresso d'Egitto*—and then to Tunis. Here, he became the Bey's personal physician. He later returned to Italy to fight in Italy's wars for unification. He became the king's personal physician and then senator of the newly established Kingdom of Italy in 1871, and again in 1874. He died in La Goulette in 1886.

14. Daniela Melfa, *Migrando a sud: Coloni italiani in Tunisia (1881–1939)* (Rome: Aracne, 2008). See, for example, the pages on Tuscan wet nurses working in French and Italian families in Tunis and in other North African countries by Lucilla Briganti, "L'emigrazione 'stagionale' dalla Toscana alla Tunisia fra Ottocento e Novecento," in *Tunisia e Toscana*, ed. Vittorio A. Salvadorini (Pisa: Edistudio, 2002), 151–70, esp. 169–70.
15. Leone Carpi, *Delle colonie e delle migrazioni di Italiani all'estero sotto l'aspetto dell'industria, del commercio, agricoltura, e con trattazione d'importanti questioni sociali* (Milan: Editrice Lombarda, 1874). See also Alessio Loreti, "La diffusion de la culture Italienne en Tunisie: Imprimerie et édition entre 1829 et 1956," *Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 62 (2007): 443–55.
16. Massimo Sanacore, *L'Archivio della Famiglia Moreno (1819–2006), Introduzione*, retrieved 4 October 2017 from <http://www.archiviodistatolivorno.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/175/archivio-moreno>, p. 3. See also Massimo Sanacore, "Storia della famiglia Moisè Moreno," and Giuliana Moreno, "Descrizione dell'archivio (1819–2006)," both in *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* 18 (2011): 347–53 and 338–41.
17. Liana E. Funaro, "Percorsi attraverso l'Archivio Moreno," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* 18 (2011): 333–38.
18. Charles Monchicourt, *Les Italiens de Tunisie et l'accord Laval-Mussolini de 1935* (Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1938); Shorrock, "Tunisian Factor," 171.
19. Archivio di Stato di Livorno (henceforth ASLi), Moreno Family Collection (henceforth Moreno), Moreno, b. 5, *Danni di Guerra e Requisizione Magazzini Legname 28 Rue de Besançon*, 31 May 1943; see also b. 13 for the documents related to the confiscation of the Moreno real estate, goods, bank accounts, and stocks as citizens of an enemy country in 1943, and for the use of the Moreno property by the British and French armies in 1944 and 1945.
20. ASLi, Moreno, b. 5. On 31 July 1899, Leone Moreno withdrew from the company, and Raffaello changed its name to "Maison Raffaello Moreno et C.ie"; a few years later, in 1913, Raffaello added his son and his brother-in-law (Daniele Cardoso), and the company's new name became "Moreno fils et C.ie."
21. Lucette Valensi and Abraham L. Udovitch, *Juifs en terre d'islam: Les communautés de Djerba* (Paris: Archives contemporaines, 1991); Jacques Taïeb, *Être juif au Maghreb à la veille de la colonisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994); Jacques Taïeb "Les juifs livournais de 1600 à 1881," in *Histoire communautaire: Histoire plurielle, la communauté juive de Tunisie: Actes du colloque de Tunis organisé les 25-26-27 Février 1998 à la Faculté de la Manouba*, ed. Abdelkrim Allagui and Habib Kazdaghli (Tunis: Centre de publication universitaire, 1999), 153–64; Paul Sebag, *Histoire des Juifs de Tunisie: Des origines à nos jours* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000); Jacques Taïeb, *Sociétés juives du Maghreb moderne (1500–1900)* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000); Elia Boccara, "La comunità ebraica portoghese di Tunisi (1719–1944)," *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 66 (2000): 25–98; Denis Cohen-Tannoudji, *Entre Orient et Occident: Juifs et musulmans en Tunisie* (Paris: Éditions de l'Éclat, 2007); Albert-Armand Maarek, *Les Juifs de Tunisie entre 1857*

- et 1958: histoire d'une émancipation* (Paris: Glyphe, 2010); for a broader comparative perspective in geographical and chronological terms, see *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, ed. Emily Benichou Gottreich and Daniel J. Schroeter (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).
22. Keith Walters, "Education for Jewish Girls in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Tunis and the Spread of French in Tunisia," in Gottreich and Schroeter, *Jewish Culture and Society*, 257–281, esp. 260–61.
 23. Yaron Tsur, "Haskala in a Sectional Colonial Society: Mahdia (Tunisia) 1884," in *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era*, ed. Harvey E. Goldberg, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 151–53.
 24. Pennacchio, "Ebrei fra Livorno," 232.
 25. Giulia Barrera, "Third-Grade Pupils of the Italian State-Funded Giovanni Meli Primary School in Tunis," in "Sharing History: Arab World-Europe, 1815–1918," Museum with No Frontiers, 2017, retrieved 5 October 2017 from http://www.sharinghistory.org/database_item.php?id=object;AWE;it;117;enSource.
 26. Shorrock, "Tunisian Factor," 170.
 27. Comitato della Camera Italiana di Commercio ed Arti, *Gli Italiani in Tunisia* (Tunis: Imprimerie typo lithographique de l'Association Ouvrière, Frédéric Weber, 1906).
 28. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 2, *L'Unione—Giornale Politico Quotidiano—Ufficiale per gli atti della Camera di Commercio Italiana, ed autorizzato*, 10 June 1900.
 29. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 1, "Note Tunisine," *Fanfulla*, 30 March 1899.
 30. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 1, "Cose Tunisine," *Gazzetta Livornese*, 24–25 July 1898.
 31. Ilaria Porciani, *La festa della nazione: Rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997).
 32. Funaro, "Percorsi," 95, 98–99.
 33. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 2, "XX Settembre," *L'Unione*, 20 September 1901.
 34. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 2, Bottesini, "Il XX Settembre a Tunisi," *L'Unione*, 20 September 1901.
 35. Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics at Home and Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For a more critical outlook on this term and its usage, see Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (2005): 1–19.
 36. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 2, C.E., "Il valore e la mobilità," *L'Unione*, 4 June 1900.
 37. Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, *Moreno* AK 807. In the same correspondence, Leone Moreno explains the difficulty about fundraising for the JNF in the French Maghreb (19 and 20 December 1923).
 38. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 5.
 39. Among the many available texts on this question, see the classic Bryan S. Turner, *Medical Power and Social Knowledge* (London: Sage Publications, 1987) and the more recent Poonam Bala, ed., *Medicine and Colonialism: Historical Perspectives in India and South Africa* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014).
 40. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 15, *Discorso del Deputato di San Giuliano pronunciato alla Camera dei Deputati nella seduta del 29 giugno 1896* (Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati, 1896), 18.
 41. On Italian seasonal workers from Tuscany to Tunisia, see Briganti, "L'emigrazione 'stagionale.'"
 42. ASLi, Moreno, f. 19, f. 2, Bottesini, *Il XX Settembre a Tunisi*, "L'Unione," 20 September 1901.

43. Massimo Sanacore, "A Tunisian Decoration (on the Right) and an Italian Decoration (on the Left) Awarded to a Member of the Moreno Family," in Museum with no Frontiers, "Sharing History: Arab World-Europe, 1815–1918," retrieved 9 October 2017 from http://www.sharinghistory.org/database_item.php?id=object;AWE;it;111;en.
44. The bibliography on this subject is extremely vast; for a few examples, see Fábio Bertonha, *Sob a sombra de Mussolini: Os italianos de São Paulo e a luta contra o fascismo, 1919–1945* (São Paulo: Annablume, 1999); Eleonora Maria Smolensky and Vera Vigevani Jarach, *Tante voci, una storia: Italiani ebrei in Argentina, 1938–1948* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998); Clara Aldrichi, *Antifascismo italiano en Montevideo: El dialogo entre Luigi Fabbri y Carlo Rosselli* (Montevideo: Departamento de Publicaciones de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, 1996); Clara Aldrichi, "Los Judios Italianos in Uruguay," *Brecha*, 12 December, 2008, 20–21.
45. Mirella Scardozzi, "Una storia di famiglia: I Franchetti delle coste del Mediterraneo nell'Italia liberale," and Luisa Levi D'Ancora, "'Notabili e Dame' nella filantropia ebraica ottocentesca: Casi di studio in Francia, Italia e Inghilterra," in "Ebrei Borghesi: Identità familiare e affari nell'età dell'emancipazione," ed. Barbara Armani and Guri Schwarz, special issue, *Quaderni Storici* 3 (2003): 697–740 and 741–76.
46. For a fascinating study of the role of the "Colonia Italiana" in shaping the architectural space of French Tunisia and of some of the personal residences of many *grana*, see, as a starting point, Ettore Sessa, "Italian Architects, Decorators and Contractors in French Tunisia: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Building Production of an Integrated Community," in *The Presence of Italian Architects in Mediterranean Countries: Proceedings of the First International Conference*, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Chatby, Alexandria (Florence: Edizioni Maschietto, 2008), 103–15, retrieved 9 October 2017 from https://iris.unipa.it/retrieve/handle/10447/54938/42423/ANVUR_percent20Atti_Alessandria_percent20SESSA.pdf. See also Ahmed Sadaoui, "Les synagogues de Tunisie: Recherches architecturales," in Allagui and Kazdaghli *Histoire communautaire: Histoire plurielle*, 181–201.
47. Massimo Sanacore, "Bond of 100 Francs Issued by the Caisse Générale de Secours et de Bienfaisance Israélite de Tunis, in Order to Raise Funds for the Construction of a New Synagogue in Tunis, and Bought by Leone Moreno," Museum with No Frontiers, "Sharing History: Arab World-Europe, 1815–1918," retrieved 9 October 2017 from http://www.sharinghistory.org/database_item.php?id=object;AWE;it;133;en;N. See also Un Tunisino, "Da Souk El Arba presso Tunisi," *Il Vessillo Israelitico* 45 (1897): 193–94, and Ivan Davidson Kalmar, "Moorish Style: Orientalism, the Jews, and Synagogue Architecture," *Jewish Social Studies* 7 (2001): 68–100.

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CHAPTER 4

Portrait of a “Political Lady”

*Family Ties and National Activism around 1848
in the Italian and German States*

Giulia Frontoni

In the nineteenth century, national movements articulated political visions linked to specific gender constructions. Women’s and men’s roles became politicized. Especially during the political and social upheavals that buffeted Europe in 1848–49, newly formulated ideals of womanhood emerged that were closely related to discourses of nationalism. This chapter focuses on the Italian and German national movements and highlights some of the differences and similarities in the construction of womanhood employed within the two national discourses. I discuss two specific images of womanhood in politics, namely that of the “mother of the nation” and that of the so-called “political lady.” I argue that such ideals shaped women’s political identities and how they participated in politics, whereas women’s social backgrounds impacted their political behavior and social expectations. This chapter marks a first attempt at understanding the ideal of the “political lady” and analyzes how this ideal was part of the political diversification of the national movement which took place in the 1840s and 1850s.

In considering women’s role in politics, it is essential to take their social and familial backgrounds into account, because people took part in the political and social changes in the mid-nineteenth century in different ways depending on their social and economic situations. Considering women’s role during the political and social upheavals in this way requires thinking anew about contemporary discussions on women’s role in society, in politics, and above all in the national movements, bearing in mind concepts like class and religion. A conceptualization that encompasses familial and social background can illustrate women’s role in the promotion of national culture as well as in the differentiation of political debates. My aim is to show how upper-class women in the German and Italian states

around 1848–49 were more than just observers of men’s political activities. Rather, women were also expected to participate in the promotion of national values and to shape political discussions. As I will illustrate, women’s political participation was grounded in ideals such as the mother of the nation and the political lady and was deeply interwoven with social backgrounds, national movements, and political debates.

Historians have done much to disclose how national discourses were gendered, both within and beyond Europe. Postcolonial scholars in particular have made important contributions to the understanding of gender in national discourses. As Nira Yuval-Davis and others have argued, within discourses of nationalism, women were associated with specific ideals of womanhood that were related to well-defined social functions: women were understood to be responsible for the biological and cultural reproduction of the national community, for imparting national ideals to children, and for supporting the men who were fighting for national freedom.¹ Yet, the social aspect of this ideal, which was significant for many national movements, has often been neglected in studies about women’s participation in national movements, including studies about the German and Italian national movements that have focused on gender.² Historians have often written about women’s participation as correspondents and *salonnières* or about women’s associations in the national movements without paying much attention to the public that women wrote for. This is problematic, however, because social and biographical contexts mattered in significant ways for ideals of womanhood in politics. Activists often participated in national movements, for instance, in ways befitting their social status. While working and peasant women protested on the streets, bourgeois women used their writing skills to promote women’s participation in national movements.³ For this reason, it is important to ask what sort of public they wrote for. Not only female but also male writers wrote for upper-class readers with well-defined political and social expectations. Through ideals such as the mother of the nation and the political lady, national discourses framed women’s participation and linked that participation to women’s respective social backgrounds.

The Italian and German Cases: The Ideal of the Mother of the Nation

The ideal of the mother of the nation figured centrally in European national discourses throughout the nineteenth century. It became widespread in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Within the French national movement, pictures of mothers sacrificing themselves for the sake of their children during social upheavals or supporting fighting soldiers repre-

sented the cohesion of the French community against its enemies, as well as broader participation in contemporary political changes. These images promoted a new vision of gender roles: at the beginning of the nineteenth century, women were seen as mothers who should be able to preserve the stability of the national community and its progress. Nevertheless, to be a “mother” meant more than having children. Being a “mother” also implied that women should have a pedagogical commitment to the national community. This commitment entailed both childbearing for the nation and the promotion of national values.⁴

In this way, the ideal of the mother of the nation encouraged women’s participation in the national movements during the nineteenth century. Together with other family-related metaphors, the ideal of the mother of the nation took root throughout Europe in the aftermath of the French Revolution.⁵ In this period, many contemporaries, and women in particular, found it very appealing to use family-related images to promote social and political change and popular mobilization in Europe.⁶ Nevertheless, the many layers of such familial images in contemporary political discussions in the German and Italian cases have received too little attention. Although the ideal of the mother of the nation circulated throughout the German and Italian states, it had regional traits—especially in the German states. In this following section, I describe the relevance of the ideal of the mother of the nation in the Italian and German national discourses and how women reacted to such an ideal in both national contexts, taking the local context into consideration.

As the formulation of a national discourse became appealing for broader groups in the Italian and German states, national cohesion was increasingly expressed through family-related metaphors that vividly and emotionally defined gender roles. Writers and intellectuals used the well-known ideal of the mother of the nation to frame women’s social and political participation. Like other familial metaphors, the mother of the nation ideal had several discursive layers. A strong component was the religious one.

In the German national movement, the ideal of the mother of the nation implied a social commitment to Protestant or Catholic associations. During the nineteenth century, women’s participation in religious associations was widespread in the German states. Stressing emotional aspects of religiosity, the Evangelical and the Catholic Churches strove for a religious revival among women, who were seen as active members of the religious community.⁷ Through church associations, women appeared increasingly in public. As Sylvia Palatschek has shown, these women understood their activism as a way to improve the world they lived in and as a legitimated endeavor by their status as mothers and wives.⁸ Such a strong pedagogical component also prevailed within the German national movement, because

the ideal of the mother of the nation set a learning process in motion for women. Through involvement in church associations, women learned to be actively involved in public assemblies or to collect money. At the same time, upper-class women in the German states used their writing skills for the promotion of national values and social change. As Ann Taylor Allen has shown, German female writers like Malwida von Meysenburg defined womanhood in a new way to promote motherhood as a means to “self-fulfillment” and as a “basis for transformation of self and the world.”⁹

In the Italian national movement, the Catholic element predominated, as historian Marina D’Amelia has shown.¹⁰ Female writers such as Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci emphasized Catholic femininity. Women, Ferrucci argued, could support national struggles through their femininity. This meant they should do so through prayers, childbearing, and educating children in national and Catholic values. Ferrucci believed Catholicism made Italy a nation with a mission and a higher value system than other nations in Europe. For Ferrucci, as for many other liberal contemporaries from Tuscany, the struggles of the national and liberal movement were seen as legitimate because they were rooted in Catholicism, and because the Italian liberals aimed to establish a Catholic Italian nation. Above all, Ferrucci underscored in her books and articles the important role of women in education. In her view, being part of the Italian national community entailed a pedagogical commitment. This meant that even women of the upper class should devote energy to educating themselves, their children, and disadvantaged children. We thus find a pedagogical element in the Italian concept of the mother of the nation, a concept that Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci embedded in Catholicism.

Within the Italian and German national movements, women were expected to follow role models presented in articles and books. Such role models were often rooted in the past, in order to obtain public approval. For example, Ferrucci argued that women—trusting in God—should be willing to sacrifice themselves just as mothers did in ancient times. As she put it in 1855,

We are born in peaceful times, live in the lap of luxury, follow the cult of pleasure, and regard the strength of Spartan and Roman mothers as unnatural. But they knew that, before being wives and mothers, they were citizens. And because all our affections are at one with the feeling that bound us to the nation, this latter must be loved more than our relatives and even our children.¹¹

Mothers from ancient times, famous for their rigid education of children, should thus serve as role models for women in the Italian national movement.

This ideal of a strong Roman mother was quite typical for the Italian national movement. Indeed, it often served as a reference point, especially

in the wars of 1848–49. This was evidenced in the many gazettes that were published by national activists around 1848 following the abolition of censorship. Even a newspaper for women (*La Donna Italiana*) was published in Rome, which featured articles about political activities for women within the national movement. Many periodicals directly addressed mothers. This is evident, for instance, in a 6 May 1848 article in *La Donna Italiana*, wherein mothers were encouraged to educate their children at the military school so that they could prepare themselves to fight against the enemies of the Italian national project.¹² Mothers were expected to follow the example of strong Roman women from the past. Through examples of mothers from ancient times, the Italian national discourse rooted the ideal of the mother of the nation in an imagined past. In this way, a tradition of women's willingness to sacrifice was built, while women's trust in God testified to the strength of their character. The ideal was often presented by women who became activists of the Italian national movement through their writing. They proposed such examples to generate greater support for national struggles among women and sought to guarantee the continuity of such support by educating children in national values.

German activists also looked to the past for local examples to promote broader participation in national struggles. For example, Prussian militants in the German national movement held up women from the Napoleonic war years as models. Women within the German national movement were empowered to write about the political activities and experiences of their female relatives—above all, their mothers—during the Napoleonic wars to learn from the past experiences. Women's support activities for the soldiers and their protests were often recalled to promote similar participation during the riots of 1848. In the northern German states, women pleaded for greater women's participation in support activities for soldiers during the war in Schleswig and Holstein. Women's activities during the Napoleonic wars figured prominently in such pleas. As two contemporaries in Hamburg wrote, "Ask those who remember what German women did during the patriotic wars. And let us admit that our mothers did more than we have done up to now."¹³ In this plea, the female authors promoted women's participation by recalling past experiences. They not only imagined a continuity between patriotic activities in the Napoleonic era and women's activism during 1848–49 but also called for a greater exchange between women and elderly people, so that women could learn strategies from the past and acquire political knowledge. This emphasis on intergenerational exchange promoted family cohesion during wartime, because women's political experiences during the Napoleonic wars were presented to the younger generation as patriotic examples worthy of emulation. By recalling the experiences of German upper- and middle-class

women, the collective memory of women became part of the German national movement.

The Hamburg women who had written the plea came from the German upper class. This is significant, because historians have often talked about women's participation in the revolution of 1848–49 without paying much attention to their social background. Through their writing, these women saw themselves and other bourgeois women as members of the German national collectivity, with well-defined patriotic duties. Like other contemporaries, women in Hamburg addressed their pleas to upper-class women. Women, even the young ones, were expected to sacrifice themselves proportionally to their social background. Because of their bourgeois background, the plea writers suggested that women should sacrifice their demand for stylish clothes and instead donate to the soldiers or the poor families in the bombed territories in Holstein.

The ideal of the mother of the nation opened up new ways for women to participate in contemporary social changes, because it articulated politically the everyday experiences of women. Through examples from the past, mothers of the nation were represented as being committed to the struggles of their community. Childbearing, military education of children, and passing on national values through writing or in daily communication were seen in the German and Italian national discourses as a patriotic duty that women should perform to support the national project. Because of their familial duty and their own sex, women were expected to be responsible for national cohesion, and activists for the German and Italian national discourse expressed this through family metaphors such as the ideal of the mother of the nation.

The Ideal of the Political Lady: Political Diversification in the German and Italian National Movement

Next to the ideal of the mother of the nation, a new ideal of womanhood in politics emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the beginning, the term “political lady” was used to criticize women's participation in political debates satirically. In fact, women's presence in political places like parliaments or clubs was viewed very critically.¹⁴ In a historical and satirical book from 1840, the French conservative Horace De Viel-Castel referred to “political ladies” in a satirical way, and clearly defined this term in a chapter titled “La femme politique.”¹⁵ For De Viel-Castel, “la femme politique” was a well-born woman who read the newspapers, historical books, and the writings of her friends. She was also seen as a woman of age who held gatherings with political activists and politicians and was capable of networking and of influencing people. The description of the

skills and the roots of the political lady are in fact evident in the salon culture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For De Viel-Castel, political ladies took sides for one party or another; some women from the upper class invited, for example, republican writers for dinner to discuss political matters and give them advice about their writing, while other upper-class women debated with conservative politicians in their living rooms. In De Viel-Castel's view, moreover, women influenced political debate and contributed to the diversification of the political discussion through gatherings and remarks on the writings of friends.

Yet, De Viel-Castel used this ideal to argue against women's participation in national struggles. He wrote, for example, "I will not impose on all women the epitaph of the Roman matron *Domum mansit—lana fecit*; but I would rather read on the funeral stone of each, 'She died of too much dancing!'"¹⁶ De Viel-Castel was thus critical of the growing participation of upper-class women in political discussions and suggested they should focus more on leisure than on political activities. His critique reveals a contemporary view of women in politics: the involvement of upper-class women in contemporary political disputes was seen as a way to intensify the diversification of political opinions rather than to narrow the gap between different political parties.

De Viel-Castel's writing spread abroad. His work was translated into English and was reviewed in newspapers in England and the United States.¹⁷ Reviewers compared the French situation with their own local contexts. They looked for local examples of upper-class women involved in politics, held them up as political ladies, and argued against this notion, because they believed such women exaggerated when expressing their own political views. As the *London and Westminster Review* wrote, "Our political lady was walking backwards and forwards in a state of great agitation: 'my friend'—said she to a visitor with tears streaming from her eyes—I am distracted: between my sick child and the affairs of the nation, I am almost mad."¹⁸ The article connected two tasks contemporary upper-class women performed—the mothering of a child and the mothering of the nation—and suggested that women were overwhelmed by politics. It seems men used the ideal of the political lady to criticize satirically women's participation in political discussions. And of course, De Viel-Castel and his contemporaries brought this ideal into play to argue against women's participation in political activities and national struggles. In so doing, they nevertheless described a growing phenomenon that was also taking place in the 1840s in the German and Italian states.

Around 1848, German-speaking publications evidenced how upper-class women were becoming increasingly interested in politics. In her 1849 novel *Rom und Berlin*, the famous German author Therese von Bacharach described the life of a middle-class wife in Berlin who loved polit-

ical discussions, had her own political views, read many newspapers, and was well informed about society and social and political changes.¹⁹ Bacheracht's character exemplifies some of the attitudes and political practices of upper-class women in the first half of the nineteenth century. This can be well illustrated with an example from the everyday life and activities of a woman in Berlin during the revolution of 1848, namely Ludmilla Assing.

Assing was born in Hamburg at the beginning of the nineteenth century and came from a prominent literary family. Her mother was Rosa Varnhagen, who held gatherings with writers and the literati in Hamburg, including Amalia Schoppe, Emilie Campe, and poets of Young Germany like Heinrich Heine. Her uncle was August Varnhagen von Ense, a diplomat and the husband of the famous salonnière Rahel Levin. She was, moreover, a cousin of Fanny Lewald, with whom she had a complicated relationship. It was within this liberal, intellectually stimulating family that Ludmilla Assing and her sister Ottilie were socialized.²⁰ The intellectual stimulation is linked to the family's Jewish background.²¹ Some family members, including Assing's father and Rahel Levin, had converted from Judaism to Christianity. From a young age, both Ludmilla and her sister became accustomed to participating in political discussions. After the death of her parents, Ludmilla Assing moved to Berlin to live with her uncle, with whom she and her sister had a close relationship. Indeed, they worked closely together and held gatherings not only with liberal-minded Germans but also with liberals of the Italian national movement. Ludmilla's uncle had a significant influence on her political socialization. During her time in Berlin, Assing became accustomed to attending the theater and to discussing plays she saw and books she read, as we know from the letters she wrote to her friend Amalia Schoppe in Hamburg. Through her letter writing, moreover, Assing maintained a connection between Berlin and Hamburg and at the same time demonstrated that she was part of this liberal group.

During the revolution of 1848, Assing still lived in Berlin. She was close with the writers of the Young Germany movement and with liberal editors that were friends with her uncle, such as Gustav Kühne and August Lewald. She began to write articles for liberal newspapers. In her writing, she described the revolution in Berlin and her view of the nation: "Prussia has become German. . . . What is relevant is no longer the all-decisive, solitary 'I,' but rather the 'we' of the people."²² For her, the March 1848 uprising in Berlin had brought to the fore the feelings of nationalism harbored by people in Prussia. In her writing, she also emphasized the participation of men and women in public ceremonies, such as the burial of those killed during the riots in Berlin. In so doing, she wanted to show how strongly people in Berlin felt about the German nation and how involved they were in the German national struggle.

Assing looked favorably on the participation of so many people in the German national struggle. She herself was rather curious about contemporary political events. She formed and defined her own political opinions around 1848. She did so, for example, by attending the discussions of the constitutional club in Berlin with liberal friends. By attending such discussions, she distanced herself from the liberal moderates and opted for more democratic views. She took part in the revolution through her political practices (e.g. her literary skills and ability to participate in political discussions) and proved herself to be a part of a liberal democratic group in which she played an important role after 1848.

By contrast, it seems that satirical references—or any other references—to “political ladies” were absent from Italian-speaking newspapers in 1848–49. One of the reasons for this apparent silence could lie in the different way that the Italian national movement was socially stratified. In the Italian case, many of the leading women in the movement were liberal aristocrats rather than bourgeois.²³ A further reason may be drawn from a brief reflection on the political discussion within the Italian and the German national movements. The Italian national discourse emphasized the cohesion of the national community during the revolution and later wars of 1848–49 and thus tried to erase political differences, while the German press often highlighted political diversification in the German national movement, even in the publications for and by women.²⁴ Nevertheless, German-speaking women underscored the significance of political cohesiveness when they wrote for a broader public. In the view of Ludmilla Assing, for example, the national democratic movement was based on the joint contributions of men and women. For her, both sexes had specific activist roles to play. Writing was one of the ways both sexes worked for democratic goals. She used her writing during and after the revolution to disseminate examples of women’s participation. For Assing, women should always encourage men and the younger generations to take part in the German democratic movement, even if this led to disappointment.²⁵ Indeed, from Assing’s perspective, political encouragement was the main duty for women in the German national movement.

Conclusion

Women like Ludmilla Assing or the other female writers discussed above had the financial means, the know-how, and the proper connections to initiate activities for the promotion of emergent national values. They made considerable use of their connections and skills in order to take sides for one party or another. By doing so, they staked out a strong political position and showed themselves to be precisely the sort of “political ladies”

that authors had depicted satirically in print. At the same time, though, women understood their activism as a way to fulfill their pedagogical commitment to the nation. What is more, the very ideal of the mother of the nation empowered women to take part in the national movement.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, writers in the German and Italian states had advocated social and political commitment for women in specific contexts. The ideals of the political lady and the mother of the nation reflected this belief. Activists believed women should help forge the nation in a manner befitting their social status. In their writings, they took into account the social status of women, as my discussion of the political lady shows. Moreover, although the ideal of the political lady was used to criticize satirically women's influence on contemporary political debates, this influence was itself evidence of the mid-nineteenth-century diversification that took place within national movements. By contrast, the ideal of the mother of the nation symbolized a collectivity and social cohesion in face of the enemy. This ideal set in motion a learning process for women in the German states, who could speak openly about the past political activism of their mothers and other female relatives, while in the Italian states, the ideal of the mother of the nation reflected the political expectation of the upper classes, who were still struggling to legitimate the roots of their national ambitions.

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Notes

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1. Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 26–38.
2. The studies of Nadia Filippini and Ramona Myrrhe focus on the social background of women in the Italian and German national movements. See Nadia Maria Filippini, ed., *Donne sulla scena pubblica: Società e politica in Veneto tra Sette e Ottocento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2006); Ramona Myrrhe, *Patriotische Jungfrauen, treue Preußinnen, keifende Weiber Frauen und Öffentlichkeit in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Sachsen-Anhalt* (Freiburg: Fördergemeinschaft wissenschaftlicher Publikationen, 2006).

3. See Carola Lipp, ed., *Schimpfende Weiber und patriotische Jungfrauen: Frauen im Vormärz und in der Revolution 1848/49* (Bühl-Moos: Elster Verlag, 1986).
4. In recent discussions about nationalisms in nineteenth-century Europe, the historian John Breuilly has suggested that nationalisms should be evaluated "by the criteria of the promotion of national identity or culture," because this would allow one to understand how such nationalisms spread. See John Breuilly, "Nationalism and National Unification in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 149–74.
5. On the use of metaphors in national discourses, see Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000); Alberto Mario Banti, *L'onore della Nazione: Identità sessuali e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII alla Grande Guerra* (Turin: Einaudi, 2005); John Breuilly, "Risorgimento Nationalism in the Light of General Debates about Nationalism," in *Nation and Nationalism* 15 (2009): 439–45.
6. About the meaning of such images in European national movements, see Alberto Mario Banti, *L'onore della Nazione*. On strategies for people's mobilization, see Maarten Van Genderachter and Marnix Beyen, eds., *Nationhood from Below: Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012); Ilaria Porciani, "Disciplinamento nazionale e modelli domestici nel lungo Ottocento: Germania e Italia a confronto," in *Storia d'Italia: Annali 22. Il Risorgimento*, ed. Alberto Mario Banti and Paul Ginsborg (Turin: Einaudi, 2007), 1:97–126.
7. On women's activism in German church associations, see Sylvia Paletschek, *Frauen und Dissens: Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und in den freien Gemeinden, 1841–1852* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).
8. Paletschek, *Frauen und Dissens*, 155–59.
9. Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 41.
10. Marina D'Amelia, *La Mamma* (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 2005); Maria Cristina Morandini, *Scuola e nazione: Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato italiano, 1848–1861* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2003), 159–61; Sylvia Soldani, "Il Risorgimento delle donne," in *Storia d'Italia: Annali 22. Il Risorgimento*, ed. Alberto Mario Banti and Paul Ginsborg (Turin: Einaudi, 2007), 183–224; Simonetta Soldani, "Italiane! Appartenenza nazionale e cittadinanza negli scritti di donne dell'Ottocento," *Genesis: Rivista della società italiana delle storiche* 1, no. 1 (2002): 85–124. As D'Amelia has noted, there was a focus on femininity and on female religiosity to promote Catholic consciousness as a political alternative to the secular nationalist thinking of the French Revolution, whereas the liberals in the Italian national movement saw Catholicism as a distinguishing mark that unified the different Italian states. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this discussion was largely animated by the writings of the abbot Vincenzo Gioberti. However, as historians Soldani and Morandini have shown, women also did much to shape this national ideal.
11. Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci, *Della educazione morale della donna italiana* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1855), 40.
12. "Il battaglione della speranza. Preghiera alle madri," *La Donna Italiana*, 6 May 1848.

13. Hermine Speckter, *Aufruf ca. 1849*, Staatsarchiv Hansestadt Hamburg, Nachlass Speckter, 622–1/478 B3.
14. Some studies have pointed out how newspapers and many male writers viewed women's presence and participation in the national movement critically and satirized it. See Carola Lipp, "Die Frau in der Karikatur und im Witz der 48er Revolution," *Fabula* 32 (1991), 132–64; Stanley Zucker, *Kathinka Zitz-Halein and Female Civic Activism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 70–78, 90–93.
15. Horace De Viel-Castel, "Les Femmes Politiques," in *Les Français peints par eux même*, ed. Henri-Léon Curmer (Paris: Henri-Léon Curmer, 1841), 41–48.
16. "Political Lady," in *The Corsair* 47, 1840, 751–52.
17. See Jules Gabriel Janin and Louis-Marie de Lahaye Cormenin, *Pictures of the French: A Series of Literary and Graphic Delineations* (London: W. S. Orr, 1840). For reviews, see "Les Français Moeurs contemporaines," *The London and Westminster Review* 33, 1840, 162–81; "Political Lady," 751–52.
18. "Les Français Moeurs contemporaines," 171.
19. Therese von Bacheracht, *Novellen: Rom-Berlin* (Leipzig: Brockhaus Verlag, 1849), 100.
20. On Ludmilla Assing, see Nikolaus Gatter, "Letztes Stück des Telegraphen: Wir alle haben ihn begraben helfen . . . ? Ludmilla Assings journalistische Anfänge im Revolutionsjahr," in *Internationales Jahrbuch der Bettina-von-Arnim-Gesellschaft* 11–12 (1999–2000), 101–20; Nikolaus Gatter, ed., *Makkaroni und Geistespeise: Almanach der Varnhagen Gesellschaft e. V.* (Berlin: Berlin-Verlag Spitz, 2002).
21. On conversion from Judaism to Christianity as well as women's education in Jewish circles, see Deborah Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Monica Rüthers, "Frauenleben verändern sich," in *Luftmenschen und rebellische Töchter: Zum Wandel ostjüdischer Lebenswelten im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Heiko Hausmann (Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 2003), 223–308.
22. "Die Märztage in Berlins, aus dem Tagebuche einer deutschen Frau," *Europa* 14, 1 April 1848, 233.
23. On the liberal orientation of the aristocracy in the Italian states, see Thomas Kroll, *Die Revolte des Patriziats: Der toskanische Adelsliberalismus im Risorgimento* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999); Marco Meriggi, *Milano Borghese: Circoli ed élites nell'Ottocento* (Venice: Marsilio, 1992).
24. An example is the well-known *Frauenzeitung* (women's newspaper) published by Louise Otto-Peters. See Uta Gerhardt, Elisabeth Hannover-Drück, and Ramona Schmitter, eds., "Dem Reich der Freiheit werb' ich Bürgerinnen": *Die "Frauen-Zeitung" von Louise Otto* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1979). About the heterogeneity of the political elites in the German states, see, for example, Thomas Kühne, "Professionalization or 'Amateurization,' Homogenization or Segmentation? The Parliamentary Elite in Germany, 1815–1918," in *Les familles politiques en Europe occidentale au XIXe siècle*, ed. Serge Bernstein (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997), 391–408.
25. Assing began her career as a biographer by writing a book about Elisa von Ahlenfeld, who was the wife of Alfred Lützow, the commander of the Prussian volunteer corps during the Napoleonic wars. In her book about Elisa von Ahlenfeld, Assing showed how women's activism during the Napoleonic wars promoted a similar commitment to the nation among contemporary women. Ludmilla As-

sing, *Gräfin Elisa von Ablefeldt, die Gattin Adolphs von Lützow, die Freundin Immermann's. Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker, 1857).

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CHAPTER 5

Emancipation, Religious Affiliation, and Family Status around 1900

Angelika Schaser

In these days of postcolonial studies, the long-term impact of colonialization both in the colonized societies and in the societies of the former colonial powers is becoming clear. The same is true of discrimination against women, which did not simply come to an end when legal equity was established. This observation is rooted in history, and its content is the focus of this chapter. Although the opportunities for, and wishes of, women have changed a lot over the last century, we find even today that both self-perception and external perception of female intellectual work and parenthood vary between women and men. Around 1900, the two fields of housewife and mother were the goals of female education in the family and at school. This was also widely accepted by the members of the German women's movement. However, their goal was that gifted women should have access to higher education, academic studies, and professional work. Academic education and intellectual work for women were the key demands of the women's movement in the nineteenth century, first tentatively and then with growing intensity.

In this chapter, I have analyzed one key document by close reading. The leading questions are: (1) Around 1900, what opportunities for intellectual work did women see for themselves? (2) What criteria did they define for female expertise? (3) How were the results of female intellectual work presented? Why did the two female authors present only very few conclusions, leaving it to the readers to draw their own conclusions from the information presented? (4) Both authors were Jewish. Why did they not link the discourse on women's emancipation with the question of religious minorities? Finally, the reception and impact of the study are summarized.

Women and Intellectual Labor around 1900

Innumerable texts on women and intellectual work were published around 1900. The writings of scientists who denied that women had the capacity to study or to produce any intellectual achievements are well known and often quoted.¹ One of the best-known and most-quoted books is Adele Gerhard and Helene Simon's *Motherhood and Intellectual Work: A Psychological and Sociological Study; Based on an International Survey and on the Historic Development* (Berlin, 1901).²

Two German-Jewish women, born in 1868 (Gerhard) and 1862 (Simon), wrote about motherhood and intellectual labor in 1901. Gerhard was married and had two children (born in 1891 and in 1896); Simon was unmarried and had no children. They had known each other since their youth in Düsseldorf³ and met again in Berlin in the context of the Verein für Socialpolitik (Association for Social Politics) and in the circles of Gustav Schmoller, whose seminars and lectures on national economic issues attracted numerous female guest students.⁴ Schmoller was one of the few professors who not only encouraged women to study but also supported them in their endeavors. For example, he included in the yearbooks he edited studies conducted by women who—like Gerhard and Simon—mainly worked on an autodidactic basis with no formal education.⁵

Gerhard and Simon were among the pioneers, working scientifically and presenting their work in public even before women were admitted to universities. Gerhard had published her first novelette in 1894 and a study on consumer society and social democracy in the subsequent year. Simon, who is also said to have written novelettes in her youth,⁶ started extensively publishing scientific texts after a visit to England (1896) and three semesters of study as a guest student at the Berlin University. In those days, both of them—at thirty-three and thirty-nine years old, respectively—were probably at crossroads in their respective lives. Gerhard was attempting to combine motherhood with intellectual work. Simon, aged nearly forty, probably had the impression that she would have to live out her life unmarried and without children.

Their jointly published study can also be read autobiographically: both of them did intellectual work, one of them (Gerhard) as a mother and the other (Simon) as an unmarried woman. In their study, more than four hundred famous women (called experts) from the Western world (Europe and the United States) were asked about the compatibility of intellectual work and motherhood, with questions relating directly to their own lives.

Women as Experts

Gerhard and Simon were familiar with the ideas of social reform and the goals of the social democrats; they regarded solving the “social question” and the women’s rights issue as relevant societal challenges. Both are known to have been in touch with leading representatives of the women’s movement, but—as far as is known—neither of them personally engaged in its activities. Gerhard knew the problems arising out of the conflict between emancipation and socially mandated maternal obligations.⁷ Simon was confronted with prevalent disdain toward unmarried women in society. Both of them belonged to the Jewish minority. Both of them were trying to find a place within society where they might combine their private lives with intellectual work. The study’s autobiographically motivated intention was to demonstrate the compatibility of womanhood with intellectual work.

At the same time, it becomes clear that the two women regarded their work as a scientific production and saw their own role in the study as that of scientists. Just like Gustav Schmoller, they connected national-economic considerations with history. The focus was not on personal fate but on national economic and societal problems: women, and human beings in general, were seen as resources for society that should be put to effective use.

In order to underline the scientific nature of the study, Gerhard and Simon did not clamor for women’s emancipation but strove for a balanced, objective presentation. There is extensive coverage of the opposition to women’s emancipation. The work is introduced with consideration of the exceptional achievements of famous women since antiquity, but every chapter also describes the difficulties and conflicts brought about by combining motherhood with intellectual work. Gerhard and Simon held that large amounts of data would be necessary for their study. The women participating in their survey are presented by name in the appendix and are characterized as “experts.”⁸ Apparently, Gerhard and Simon made extra efforts to include well-known women from all over Europe and the United States as study participants. This was meant to add authority and respectability to their study. Thus, they equate female expertise with fame.

As for the study’s acceptability in scientific circles, Gerhard and Simon were able to rely on support from several well-known professors at Berlin University and from abroad. In the preface, these professors are only listed by surname: “[Gustav] Schmoller, [Adolph] Wagner, [Max] Sering und [Werner] Sombart,” all of them professors at the Department of Philosophy, University of Berlin. In addition, the physiologist Heinrich Herkner,⁹ then professor in Zurich, was at the Technical University of Berlin from 1907 on. “Zuntz” probably refers to the animal physiologist Nathan

Zuntz, who at the time worked at the Königliche Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule Berlin. He came from a Jewish family and had converted to Protestantism in 1889. “Kemmerer” presumably refers to the American economist Edwin Walter Kemmerer, who interacted with German national economists.¹⁰

They were assisted in contacting famous women by Helene Lange, Clara Zetkin, Beatrice Webb (whom Simon had met in London), and Henriette von der Mey.¹¹ Gerhard and Simon expressed their special thanks to some members of the women’s movement and to foreign scientists for providing international contacts.¹² In France, Käthe Schirmacher helped to recruit experts. Similarly, there were several contact persons (some of them German) in Scandinavia, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Hungary, Russia, Portugal, Austria, and Poland who helped search for female experts. Only for England and the United States were Gerhard and Simon able to utilize institutional support. In England, they were supported by the Women’s Institute in London; in the United States, by the Students Reference Bureau, which maintained close connections to the Woman’s Clubs¹³ in various U.S. cities.¹⁴

Seven experts came from Italy: actress Adelaide Ristori (Marchesa Capranica del Grillo), writer Alinda Brunamonti, writer Virginia Mula-zzi, Irma Melany Scodnik, scientist Rina Monti, lawyer Teresa Labriola, and Rosy Amadori. In the case of the Italian experts, only famous women were included in the study, and only two of them were quoted by name. The Italian writer Alinda Brunamonti confirmed that even during pregnancy she had been able to combine family duties with poetry.¹⁵ Rina Monti, then lecturer at the University of Padua, underlined that “a woman is able to do intellectual work without any damage to health.”¹⁶ The case of the Italian experts demonstrates that the alphabetic listing of names in the book enhances the study’s weight, even if only a small number of statements recorded in the book can be attributed to specific experts.

The Scientific Presentation of the Topic

Gerhard and Simon give a historical introduction on the topics of “the physical nature of the woman,” “motherhood as an occupation,” and “the intellectual work of the woman,” building on the latest studies. In the second part of the book, they present the data. For this purpose, they classify the intellectual work of the woman into six occupational categories:

1. Acting
2. Music

3. Fine arts
4. Poetry
5. Science and humanities
6. Agitation, essay, and journalism

In doing so, they give the impression that it was possible for the expert women to be assigned to specific occupational categories, although as a rule they were self-taught and rarely held recognized training qualifications. The details of the questionnaire are not known, but the tables presented in the book allow for reconstruction of some of the questions.¹⁷ The study participants were asked questions including: Are you married or unmarried? Do you have children? If yes, how many? Did you breast-feed your children? Did you have stillborn children? Were you sick due to overwork?¹⁸ The questions indicate the context in which motherhood and intellectual work were discussed in those days, and they point to the relevance attributed to fertility, health, and breastfeeding.

On several occasions, the authors indicate serious deficiencies in the information received. For this reason, Gerhard and Simon resorted to published (auto)biographical texts from women artists, writers, and scientists on a comprehensive scale. Women who filled in the questionnaire did not always agree to be quoted by name. Therefore, verbal quotations are often attributed to anonymous “writers of international renown,” etc. The case was different with Helene Lange, whom Gerhard and Simon classified as a scientist and who did not want her statements to be anonymized.¹⁹ Not only in this case, the women’s assignment to the occupational categories appears to be somewhat arbitrary; well-known women were frequently active in a variety of fields. The analysis makes a distinction between “reproductive” and “productive” occupations. It starts with the “reproductive” occupations such as acting and singing. Composing is seen as standing in the middle between the “reproductive” and the “productive” occupations. The “productive” occupations were poetry, science, and the umbrella category of agitation, essay, and journalism.

Acting, Music

In those days, female actors and singers were held in high esteem; their work was recognized and sometimes well paid. Within the artistic community, they were seen as irreplaceable. Public interest in these persons was further stimulated by stories of illegitimate children, extramarital affairs, or giving children away. High-level artistic performance, often associated with travel obligations, appeared scarcely reconcilable with a mother’s duties.

Fine Arts

It was seen as easier for female fine artists to combine motherhood with intellectual work. Most of the married female artists had completed their studies before marriage, and as mothers they did not undertake long travel tours.²⁰ Fine artists, in most cases, were not in high societal esteem; only a very few became famous.

Poetry

The case was different for female poets (this term was used by Gerhard and Simon mostly for women writing novels and novelettes). Their activity was seen by Gerhard and Simon as a productive art and was more highly esteemed than the reproductive art of actors and singers.²¹ In historical retrospect on the women in this group,²² the authors speak only of female poets who “rose above mediocrity.”²³ The authors had a deep respect for scientific opinions denying that women had the ability to perform independent intellectual work. This attitude is reflected, for example, in their focus on famous female writers. One example is Harriet Beecher-Stowe (1812–96), who is mentioned but is not classified as a poet. Why do Gerhard and Simon not recognize the author of the globally known bestseller *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* as a poet? Imprudently, Beecher-Stowe had attacked Lord Byron. This “sin against one of the greatest geniuses of all times” had provided her with numerous enemies.²⁴ Apparently, this also led Gerhard and Simon to attest that she was “not truly rooted in poetry.” She was only included in the historical sketch because, given the breadth of her influence, it is interesting to consider what she reports regarding the impact of her own maternal sufferings on *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.²⁵ This crudely demonstrates how only the contributions based on biological or intellectual motherhood were recognized as inventive and original.

It looked as if a serious and nearly insoluble problem would arise from “the union of poetic production with the maternal occupation.”²⁶ Reportedly, a “female poet of international renown, belonging to the most well-known women of current times,”²⁷ claimed to concede the right of extramarital children to working mothers, as long as they were in a position to financially support their children. For Gerhard and Simon, this was definitely going too far. By no means was this Gerhard and Simon’s vision of the “new woman.”²⁸

Science, Humanities

In the historical introduction to women in the sciences and humanities, they underline the female thirst for knowledge, and the “small number

of individuals standing out from the background of a school or a scientific circle.²⁹ In the center of the chapter on “women in the sciences and humanities” are female teachers and academics as well as physicians and lawyers. In this category, many women did not see female occupational activity as reasonable as long as there were small children to be taken care of.³⁰ The female physicians’ responses indicate that they saw the union of medical practice with motherhood as possible in principle, but also as difficult. Dr. Hope Bridges Adams Lehmann³¹ makes it clear that only in a socialist society would it be possible for a woman to combine professional practice with maternal duties.³²

Agitation, Essay, and Journalism

Due to the difficulties for mothers in the above categories, Gerhard and Simon saw the category “agitation, essay, and journalism” as appropriate for mothers: in their opinion, these fields did not require a more or less specific professional preparation, possibly regulated by the state. Nor do these fields—in contrast with truly creative work—require the complete involvement of one’s personality.³³ Gerhard and Simon’s reasoning for establishing these occupational groups is as follows: both the essayistic and the journalistic activity of women is mostly motivated by religious, philanthropic, sociopolitical, women’s rights, and anti-women’s rights agitation.³⁴ In this context, agitation was meant to include all activities that, in speaking or writing, “*directly* pursue a specific tendency.”³⁵

In this chapter, the first person mentioned was Olympe de Gouges. Gerhard and Simon succeeded in recruiting famous feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony to participate in their study.³⁶ Auguste Schmidt,³⁷ Hanna Bieber-Böhm, Marie Stritt, Henriette Fürth,³⁸ and Clara Zetkin³⁹ agreed to be quoted explicitly. Gerhard and Simon underline that in these fields, no professional studies were needed; motherhood helped “gain knowledge of a more general nature,” and all these activities were compatible “even with decades of interruption, without loss of quality.”⁴⁰

Irrespective of marital status, if women intended to work intellectually, according to Gerhard and Simon, the criterion for assessing their work was “the irreplaceable cultural value”—this should be the deciding factor in the “right to exist” for mothers working intellectually.⁴¹ The presentation of results shows that among the experts, 37 percent were unmarried, and among the married women, 33 percent had no children. Gerhard and Simon kept insisting that motherhood implies the most demanding intellectual work. The material that mothers work with is the noblest material ever trusted to a creative hand.⁴²

So, “motherhood” in this context would not necessarily mean biological motherhood but could refer to “spiritual motherhood” as well.

The idea was that women should get the vote in order to be honored as mothers and to be able to provide their experience and knowledge to society in a more effective way.⁴³ Women were supposed to be active based on motherhood; the fundamental experience of motherhood was seen as benefiting the whole of society.

The questions asked by Gerhard and Simon refer not to spiritual motherhood but to biological motherhood. The questions underline how important they deemed fertility and the ability to breastfeed babies for the societal recognition of working women.⁴⁴ Here, they indirectly discredit women who are not mothers. Their activity, even if defined as “spiritual motherhood,” could not contribute directly to demographic development and to public health by breastfeeding. Other passages written in a highly defensive manner point out that “the female physical nature” does not prevent them from doing effective academic and artistic work.⁴⁵ This illustrates how laden with risk the arena of intellectual work was seen as being for women.

Even women’s movement activists only had confidence in a successful combination of motherhood and intellectual work among “flexible, particularly strong women.”⁴⁶ (Biological) maternal duties were deemed more important than intellectual work. Neither was a consecutive arrangement of a woman’s life seen as a solution. Gerhard and Simon regarded postponing intellectual work to later phases of life as highly inappropriate.⁴⁷ They assumed that “damage” and “degeneration” would follow from this both for the individual women and for society at large.

Unmarried women, who were supposed to have no children, held a legitimate position in science and the humanities, in Gerhard and Simon’s view.⁴⁸ For mothers, the situation was perceived as more difficult. Compatibility with motherhood appeared particularly problematic in the applied sciences and with work situations, which required extended absences from home. On the other hand, work intermissions of years or decades seemed to imply significant impairments of their occupational careers.⁴⁹ As a compromise, Gerhard and Simon identified the option of postponing essential creative activities to more mature years of life in selected work fields, where intermissions were common and “small versions” prevailed: the field of agitation, essay, and journalism.⁵⁰

Two conclusions are offered. (1) A woman without children is an imperfect being: “Psychologically and physically, a woman can act out her life only as a mother.”⁵¹ By glorifying biological motherhood, Gerhard and Simon downgrade all women without children. This is not ameliorated by their concept of spiritual motherhood. (2) A mother intending to work as an artist, poet, scientist, writer, musician, or journalist has to achieve excellence. Only in this way, according to Gerhard and Simon, could the combination of motherhood with intellectual work be justified. So they adopted the dictum put forward by those who opposed women’s

higher education: female intellectual work would only be justified in society if it delivered extraordinary achievements.

Women's Emancipation and Jewish Minority

The study focuses on the women's emancipation discourse, on educational issues, and on the basic conditions of intellectual work and creativity for women. Religion and religious differences are hardly mentioned. In the paragraph about preachers, the well-known sentence from the Bible (1 Corinthians 14:34) is cited ("women should keep silent in the churches"), and relating to midwives, a phrase from the Jewish Mishnah (Kiddushin 1:7) is mentioned ("and every positive commandment which is time-dependent, men are obligated and women are exempt").⁵² Although it was postulated that women played a very strong role in the spread of religions, especially the Christian religion,⁵³ no distinctions are made with respect to religion. Nor is there any discussion on the potential role of religion in educational opportunities for women. The few passages where the study discusses religion were only meant to demonstrate that women, historically, "were admitted early to join in (Christian) church singing,"⁵⁴ and they played such an important role for spreading religions that this statement necessitated no limitation with respect to specific religions, nor in terms of space or time. The situation of Jewish women or Jewish minorities was not addressed at all.

On the one hand, this was in tune with an attitude prevailing in the Protestant well-educated middle class, the German women's movement, and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) implying that religion was a private affair and had no role in public discussions or in the humanities. This omission, however, also illustrates the dilemma of Jewish emancipation, which gave equal rights to Jewish individuals but not to the Jewish community. This situation induced polarizations between liberal and orthodox tendencies within the Jewish population and caused the renunciation of a group of liberal and secular Jews from the Jewish communities to the point of conversions to Christianity.

Women are assigned a key role in these struggles concerning Jewish identity and assimilation.⁵⁵ Studies have also shown that Jewish women were overrepresented among female students and graduates.⁵⁶ However, Jewish women played an important role not only in the family and in the academic world but also in the German women's movement. Women's movements in Europe,⁵⁷ similar to Catholicism⁵⁸ and Liberalism,⁵⁹ proved somewhat resistant to antisemitism.

Therefore, when Shulamit Volkov defined antisemitism as a cultural code in 1978, she classified the women's movement as part of the emanci-

patory culture, opposed to antisemitism: “Antisemitism and antifeminism were almost invariably combined in Imperial Germany. Both were integral elements of the anti-emancipatory culture of a majority of Germans in the pre-war years.”⁶⁰ More recent research has shown that, within the women’s movement, the basic refusal of antisemitism was at times accompanied by a latent rejection and ambivalent attitude toward Jews. All this mostly caused Jewish women not to focus on their Jewish identity when acting beyond the local level. (The Jewish Women’s Association [Jüdischer Frauenbund] was established only in 1904). Such considerations probably also prompted Gerhard and Simon not to discuss Jewishness in this book.

Reception and Impact

The study met with intensive responses; it was translated into Finnish in 1907, and a second edition was published in 1908.⁶¹ Being of interdisciplinary interest, the study was discussed in daily newspapers and professional journals. In 1906, Max Weber wrote about Helene Simon: She “is *very* intelligent. Her book ‘Motherhood and intellectual work’ . . . counts among the greatest achievements.”⁶²

Scientists and politicians interpreted the work as verifying their respective views of the female role in society.⁶³ In the women’s movement and among Social Democrats too, the study met with a lot of interest. August Bebel was impressed by the study and called it “inventive.”⁶⁴ He concluded from the results that conflicts between family duties and occupation were not limited to women. In his view, only a new organization of the productive forces in society could open up an opportunity for transformation of marriage, education, and domestic economy that would allow women and men appropriate development potentials. Since the authors presented the information but restrained themselves from extensive comment, they provided ample evidence for all sides, including the opponents of female work and higher education.

Gerhard and Simon, leading emancipated lives at the time, covered their own external roles as women and Jews with the scientific habitus of objectivity. Their own situations and religious affiliations do not show through in the text. However, the adaptation of the two women to the dominant scientific habitus did not achieve the desired success. Gerhard and Simon were autodidacts and guest students without university degrees. The “specific logic” of the scientific field indissolubly interlinked the practices of their scholarly work with the authors’ “specific capital,” which was considered insufficient.⁶⁵

The foreword is characterized by female modesty and self-doubt,⁶⁶ reflecting a typical feature of female scientific work. At that time, the au-

thors were outsiders not only in German society and the scientific arena but also in the women's movement and in the SPD. Although they were in close contact with several members of the women's movement, their widely noticed study was marginalized only a few years later. They were criticized for having drawn no conclusions from their study, in contrast with Marianne Weber, whose approach to the problem was seen as more serious.⁶⁷ However, there was continued impact from the standards set by Gerhard and Simon concerning female intellectual work, how they handled the writings of opponents of female higher education and work, the issue of female modesty in science, and the fact that they did not address their own family status and religious affiliation. Even twenty-five years later, after receiving an honorary doctoral degree from Cologne University for her philosophical works, Else Wentscher chose to use the same title for her autobiography.⁶⁸ This text too reflects an overdose of modesty and obedient gratitude toward her husband and her teachers. Still in the 1920s, only good luck and nerves of steel were seen as facilitating the combination of motherhood and scientific work for women.⁶⁹

After this publication, Gerhard and Simon went separate ways. For Gerhard, this study was her final scientific publication. She felt released and free to devote herself completely to her poetic work.⁷⁰ One year later, she left the Jewish community and converted to Protestantism in 1911. Simon, being a private scholar, began her career as "female theorist of social and welfare work," for which she would receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Heidelberg in 1922.⁷¹ Due to their Jewish origins, both of them were forced to leave Germany in 1938; Gerhard immigrated to the United States, Simon to the United Kingdom.

Conclusion

The gender order of the nineteenth century in the Western world made it difficult for women to combine their womanhood with intellectual work and ambitious occupations. It was seen as highly risky to combine motherhood and a demanding profession. Adelheid Weber coined the phrase that such a combination would mean "lighting a candle at both ends." To Gerhard and Simon, this metaphor appeared the appropriate leitmotif for the answers returned to their questionnaire.⁷²

On the one hand, the pioneers among the academic women tried to settle the claim to be better than the average (male) academic. In their eyes, only the creation of irreplaceable cultural values (*unersetzliche Kulturwerte*) justified the academic education and occupation of women. On the other hand, from the beginning, women were used to being modest and to combining their work with their duties as wives and mothers.

Motherhood was normally seen as a national task, while intellectual labor and occupation were seen as a business that must be subordinated to family duties. A mother must “make her family her first, nearest, and dearest duty.”⁷³ Motherhood and raising children were seen as the most important national duty for women across all social classes. The welfare of the nation figured prominently on the agenda and was ranked higher than the needs of (Jewish) minorities and individual families and persons. Primarily intellectual work or occupation should support the nation and the family, not private satisfaction or happiness. This conditioning has had a long-term effect on the professional lives of women right up to the present. One can see the long-term effect in the gender pay gap in Europe even today. In summary, two outsiders, by integrating antifeminist prejudices and an attitude of exaggerated modesty, contributed to the view that female intellectual work was exceptional and not to be encouraged—a view with a long-term impact.

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Notes

1. See Katharina Rowold, *The Educated Woman: Minds, Bodies, and Women’s Higher Education in Britain, Germany, and Spain, 1865–1914* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
2. Adele Gerhard and Helene Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit: Eine psychologische und soziologische Studie, Auf Grundlage einer internationalen Erhebung mit Berücksichtigung ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Berlin: Reimer, 1901).
3. Walter Friedländer, *Helene Simon: Ein Leben für soziale Gerechtigkeit* (Bonn: Arbeiterwohlfahrt Hauptausschuss, 1962), 21; Rowold, *Educated Woman*, 123.
4. Daniela A. Frickel, *Adele Gerhard (1868–1956): Spuren einer Schriftstellerin* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 183, 122f.
5. Sabine Bertram, “Frauen promovieren: Doktorandinnen der Nationalökonomie an der Berliner Universität, 1906–1936,” *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 11 (2008): 131. From 1882 on, Schmoller was a university professor in Berlin.

6. Friedländer, *Helene Simon*, 12.
7. Frickel, *Adele Gerhard*, 190.
8. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, 329–33. Several experts, however, insisted on their names not being listed there (Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, iv).
9. Already in 1899, Herkner supported female enrollment in national economy studies. See Heinrich Herkner, “Das Frauenstudium der Nationalökonomie,” *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik: Zeitschrift zur Erforschung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände aller Länder* 13 (1899): 227–54.
10. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, iv–v.
11. *Ibid.*, v. Henriette von der Mey = Henriëtte Rosina Dorothea van der Meij (1850–1945); in 1884, she was the first female journalist employed in the Netherlands, working with the liberal journal *Middelburgschen Courant*.
12. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, v.
13. Henriette Greenbaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome, *Annals of the Chicago Woman’s Club for the First Forty Years of its Organization, 1876–1916* (Chicago: Chicago Woman’s Club, 1916), 155.
14. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, v.
15. *Ibid.*, 172.
16. *Ibid.*, 236.
17. *Ibid.*, tables 170, 231, 252, 259, 285, 309.
18. “Erkrankung der Mutter durch Überarbeitung,” *ibid.*, 252.
19. *Ibid.*, 237.
20. *Ibid.*, 110.
21. *Ibid.*, 116.
22. *Ibid.*, 116–71. Presumably, it was Gerhard who wrote the history of the female poets, comprising fifty pages. Only twenty pages were dedicated to contemporary female poets.
23. *Ibid.*, 127.
24. *Ibid.*, 145.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, 185; *ibid.*, 189.
27. *Ibid.*, 192, 1f. This could have been Ricarda Huch, who gave birth to her only child in 1890 and was divorced soon after.
28. *Ibid.*, 193.
29. *Ibid.*, 200.
30. *Ibid.*, 265.
31. Hope Bridges Adams Lehmann (1855–1916) was one of the first woman physicians in Imperial Germany. Adams Lehmann was born and grew up in England, studied medicine in Leipzig, and finished her studies as the first woman in Germany with a state examination in medicine. In 1901, she was married for the second time. She had two children from her first marriage. See Marita Krauss, “Die Lebensentwürfe und Reformvorschläge der Ärztin Hope Bridges Adams Lehmann (1855–1916),” in *Barrieren und Karrieren: Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland, Dokumentationsband der Konferenz “100 Jahre Frauen in der Wissenschaft” im Februar 1997 an der Universität Bremen*, ed. Elisabeth Dickmann and Eva Schöck-Quinteros (Berlin: Trafo Verlag Weist, 2000), 143–57, and Marita Krauss, *Hope: Dr. Hope Bridges Adams Lehmann, Ärztin und Visionärin, Die Biografie* (Munich: Volk Verlag, 2009).

32. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, 256.
33. Ibid., 267.
34. Ibid., 268.
35. Ibid. Emphasis in the original text.
36. Ibid., 284, 289f.
37. Ibid., 291.
38. Ibid., 292f.
39. Ibid., 303f.
40. Ibid., 305.
41. Ibid., 322.
42. Ibid., 324.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., 311.
45. Ibid., 312.
46. Helene Lange, *Die Frauenbewegung in ihren modernen Problemen* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1907), 82.
47. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, 321.
48. Ibid., 265.
49. Ibid., 266.
50. Ibid., 267–68.
51. Ibid., 191: “Psychisch und physisch lebt sich die Frau erst aus, wenn sie Mutter wird.”
52. Ibid., 266.
53. Ibid., 268.
54. Ibid., 70.
55. Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Kirsten Heinsohn and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, “Einleitung,” in *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte: Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Kirsten Heinsohn and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), 11–17; Angelika Schaser, “Antisemitismus und deutsche Frauenbewegung,” *Querelles-Net 2* (2000): <https://www.querelles-net.de/index.php/qn/article/view/18/18>; Angelika Schaser, “Einige Bemerkungen zum Thema Antisemitismus und Antifeminismus,” *Ariadne 43* (2003): 66–71.
56. Claudia Huerkamp, *Bildungsbürgerinnen: Frauen im Studium und in akademischen Berufen 1900–1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 24; Shulamit Volkov, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
57. Ute Planert, “Liberalismus und Antifeminismus in Europa,” in *Liberalismus und Emanzipation: In- und Exklusionsprozesse im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik*, ed. Angelika Schaser and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010), 73–91.
58. Olaf Blaschke, *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus im Kaiserreich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997); Olaf Blaschke, *Offenders or Victims? German Jews and the Causes of Modern Catholic Antisemitism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).
59. Uffa Jensen, “Integrationalismus, Konversion und jüdische Differenz: Das Problem des Antisemitismus in der liberalen Öffentlichkeit des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in Schaser and Schüler-Springorum, *Liberalismus und Emanzipation*, 55–71; Bar-

- bara Vogel, "Inklusion und Exklusion von Frauen: Überlegungen zum liberalen Emanzipationsprojekt im Kaiserreich," in Schaser and Schüler-Springorum, *Liberalismus und Emanzipation*, 199–218; Volkov, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites*.
60. Shulamit Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code: Reflections on the History and Historiography of Antisemitism in Imperial Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 23 (1978): 25–46.
 61. Frickel, *Adele Gerhard*, 107.
 62. Max Weber to Paul Siebeck, 19 May 1906, in *Max Weber Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5, ed. Mario Rainer Lepsius (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Siebeck 1990), 92–93. Emphasis in the original text.
 63. Frickel, *Adele Gerhard*, 107–18; Sabine Klöhn, *Helene Simon: 1862–1947, Deutsche und britische Sozialreform und Sozialgesetzgebung im Spiegel ihrer Schriften und ihr Wirken als Sozialpolitikerin im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1982), 251–55; Rowold, *Educated Woman*, 124–25.
 64. August Bebel, "Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit," *Die Neue Zeit: Wochenschrift der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, vol. 2 of 19 [1901] (repr. Glashütten im Taunus: Auvermann, 1973), 45–47.
 65. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Die feinen Unterschiede: Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1987), 143–47, 194.
 66. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, iii–v.
 67. Anna Plothow, *Die Begründerinnen der deutschen Frauenbewegung* (Leipzig: Rothbarth, 1907), 199–200.
 68. Else Wentscher, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit* (Langensalza: Beyer & Söhne, 1926).
 69. Wentscher, *Mutterschaft*, 28.
 70. Adele Gerhard to Max Martersteig, 5 August 1908. Quoted in Frickel, *Adele Gerhard*, 117–18.
 71. See Marina Sassenberg, "Helene Simon," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, last modified 1 March 2009, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/simon-helene>.
 72. Gerhard and Simon, *Mutterschaft und geistige Arbeit*, 182.
 73. See Antoinette Brown Blackwell, "The First American Ordained Minister, Lecturer and Writer," in *ibid.*, 265.

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